578 Among the Badagas, Konga is used as a term of abuse. Those who made mistakes in matching Holmgren's wools, with which I tested them, were always called Konga by the onlookers.

576 When two Badagas meet each other, the elder touches
• [560] the head of the younger with his right hand. This form of salutation is known as giving the head. A person of the Badaga section gives the head, as it is called, to an Udaiyar, in token of the superiority of the latter. When people belong to the same sept, they say "Ba, anna, appa, thamma, amma, akka" (come, father, brother, [612] mother, sister, etc.). But, if they are of different septs, they will say "Ba, māma, māmi, bava" (come, uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, etc.). "Whenever," Dr. Rivers 609 writes,* "a Toda meets a Badaga monegar (headman), or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says 'Madtin pudia.' (Madtin, you have come). The Badaga replies 'Buthuk! buthuk!' (blessing, blessing), and rests his hand on the top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders, if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas, except 648 the Toreyas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid

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* The Todas, 1906.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Pl. 15

[following p. 248-0]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

769 Plates 13 and 14 The *manevale* (memorial ceremony) at Ittala:r in 1905. (Courtesy Basel Mission.)

●561 764 Plate 15 A funeral in Hulla:ɖa hamlet, 1963. The widower leads a procession of men, in order of their generation level and absolute age, three times around the corpse, upon which they deposit the grain held in their hands. Unrelated men and women sit on either side of the grassy space.

778 Plate 16 Medieval carved orthostat, now a shrine, at Be:ɬla:ɖa.

3: Hockings. E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

that they do in the Badaga one. This is in keeping with the Toda practice of keeping women altogether separate from anything that touches upon the herding of buffaloes and the rituals of the dairy-temple, for fear that they pollute the sacrosanct (Rivers 1906: 245).

For the Todas, this is a ceremony which makes reference to what is important in the man's religious life: the priest, the grades of purity, the dairy-temple, the various grades of buffalo, the stream water, and the highly sacred hill mango tree. It is only after the ceremony has been completed and men are singing and dancing that songs may refer, as we have seen, to the more secular blessings of Toda life: calves, rain showers, plentiful milk, and fertile women, as well as the hope for divine favors.

From the field work of Rivers and Emeneau it therefore appears that social groupings are not made visible in the Toda ceremony to the extent that they are in the comparable Badaga one. What is highly visible in the Toda ceremony, however, is an important principle of social differentiation: ceremonial purity. Only the priests are ceremonially pure; ordinary Toda men acting as onlookers lack this purity and so cannot perform dairy rituals. Some men are polluted by having recently attended funerals for fellow clansmen. Men who are so affected should mark the fact by tying their hair in a knot on the front of the head; they are not permitted to drink the buttermilk or eat the festive puffed millet that others who watch the salt-giving are offered.

Women, because of their lack of purity, do not attend any dairy ceremonies. In Badaga society, however, ritual purity, although a desired personal state, is not the important principle of social organization that it is for Todas and for Hindu castes living elsewhere in India; the Badagas emphasize seniority of status instead.

In both Toda and Badaga communities the salt-giving is treated as a sacred ritual rather than a routine act of cattle herding; in both there is some indication of what material blessings man hopes for, and in both ceremonies a major principle of social organization is made visible to participants. We may recall the generalization of Radcliffe-Brown (1958: 17): "In primitive societies any things that have important effects on the social life necessarily become the objects of ritual observances . . . , the function of such ritual being to express, and so to fix and perpetuate, the recognition of the social value of the objects to which it refers."

At the outset of this paper we juxtaposed the traditional communication media of ceremonialism and informal conversation with the new mass media of the press, film, radio, and the poster. It remains only to ask whether these new media have had any effect on the performance of annual rituals such as those we have been analyzing.

It is true that mass media have very much changed both the content of and the time devoted to informal conversations. Villagers now tend to spend less time in gossiping and yet discuss a wider variety of subjects than they used to. Conversation often amounts to a re-evaluation of accepted norms and farming methods which takes into account new information that has reached the villagers from the mass media.

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These
accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy
thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim
to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In
1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas]; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 562 (554) gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is consi-
derable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely
(561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are re-
garded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village
rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and
preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she be-
comes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

159 as a whole, the implication of the kick was that it was a direct insult to Lingan's
565 entire hamlet. And because the man who had given the kick was a member of the
672 gentry, the insult was considered to have come from his entire family. Knowing
592 all this, Lingan felt justified in making the attack on his friend. Belli recognized
(556) this fact and did not try to evade the implication; for to do so might bring his status
(627) as a member of the gentry into question. Belli therefore meekly apologized for his brother's behavior and, as he is a headman himself, thereupon fined himself four annas (5¢ U.S.) without calling any council to discuss the incident. He immediately handed the sum over to Lingan; but later gave his brother a stern lecture about his indiscretion."

This case makes a good illustration for the Badaga proverb, "The prestige
565 of a great man can depend on a small boy." The people expect more honorable,
672 even exemplary, behavior from the gentry than from others; and this expectation
592 applies as much to younger members of the gentry as to their elders. The rule making the head of a gentry family responsible for the behavior of all its members thus constrains the younger members to behave in a way that will not dishonor the
(556) family head and thus the family reputation. If younger sons err seriously, they are likely to be disinherited and lose the claim to the status of gentry.

During the hearing of disputes a council is normally confronted with con-
554 tradictory evidence. Whenever this happens they tend to evaluate the evidence not
695 only in terms of any sort of abstract logical consistency, but also with respect to
(562) the social status of the people presenting the evidence. The rules for evaluating
(565) contradictory evidence are therefore, I was told, that a headman should be believed
(609) before any other man, a higher-level (e.g. divisional) headman before a lower-
(561) level one, a man should be believed before a woman, a member of the gentry or

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

593 Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his (425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if 613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
578 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

two men, Ego and 'N', who find that they are "sons-in-law" to each other, because Ego is FZH to 'N' but is also a classificatory BS to the wife of 'N'. Thus, if the permitted marriage that Diagram 1 illustrates takes place, the two men do not know how to treat each other according to the rules that normally guide behaviour towards affines. The problem is resolved by determining which man is the older one and is thus entitled to the deference of the other.

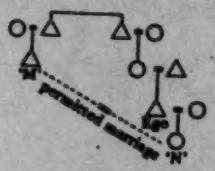

Diagram 2

The same point about the non-recognition of affinal generation levels is brought out in a second example. In Diagram 2 Ego should not show respect to 'M', although the latter is of a superior generation level, because it is permissible for 'M' to marry 'N'. Ego therefore calls 'M', his potential son-in-law, by name instead of by a kin term, as he would otherwise do in addressing an older person. It is important to note that in a society where remarriage is common and polygyny does occur, any married couple can quite probably trace the kin relationship linking them through two or even three different routes. In such a situation, aggravated as it is by the commonness of "cross-generational" marriages, affinal generation levels really become unmanageable concepts, since Ego's spouse could conceivably be assigned to several different generation levels, from his point of view, depending on which way her relationship to him was traced through their kinship field.

Rights over the wife as genetrix rest fully with her husband and his lineage. Upon divorcing her he assumes control and responsibility for all of the children she has produced for him, boys and girls, and she is sent back to her father's house (cf. Table 5).

The fundamental principle of patriliny finds biological justification in the Badaga theory of conception. In their traditional view, a foetus develops solely from the semen of the father. The only biological role of the mother is a nurturing one, seen as rather analogous to manuring a field. Blood comes to the foetus from the mother's stomach, where it has been made from digested food; and after the delivery her milk also comes from digested food in the stomach. While the mother's role is thus a crucial one in that she feeds the foetus and baby, it is not considered to develop from her flesh at all.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

about her, he will still not refer to his wife by her relationship through the speaker to his own FF, and so instead of calling her "your grandson's wife," Ego will describe her as "X's mother" where 'X' is Ego's own child.

The same terms are used for children by both male and female speakers, but the reference may link a speaker to a child through either of its parents. It is interesting in this context to note what happens when two brothers marry two sisters, as in Diagram 3. In this situation we find that Ego calls 'X' his BS, while Ego's wife calls 'X' her ZS. It is one small reflection of sibling solidarity.

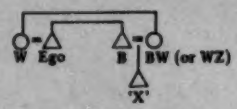

Diagram 3

The near universal distinctions of sex are mirrored in the terminology (see Table 2). Thus a term ending in *-i (mammi* for the first ascending generation collaterals) will connote a female while the same term ending in *-a (mamma* for the first ascending generation collaterals also) will be used for a male. (This suffix differentiation is general in the Dravidian languages and not reserved just for kinship terms.)

Generational division is prevalent and especially obvious for the second and third ascending and second descending generations. All grandfathers and great-grandfathers—paternal or maternal—are referred to as *ayya*, all grandmothers and great-grandmothers as *hette*. Sons, grandsons as well as all small boys tend to be called *ma:ti* or *tamma*. Granddaughters and grandsons are also referred to in descriptive terminology.

Inheritance and respect patterns within a single generation place emphasis upon who is elder (e) or younger (y) and this too is reflected in the kinship terms. An elder brother is *anna*, a younger one is *tamma*. An elder sister is *akka*, a younger one *amme*. Even in generations other than Ego's at prefix (*doḍḍa* for elder, *kunna* or *sikka* for younger) is applied to some terms to emphasize whether a relative is younger or older than the person through whom Ego is related to him or her. A few examples are these: *appa* is father, and a FeB would be called *doḍḍa appa* while FyB would be *kunna appa;* the mother is *avve*, and a MZS would be *doḍḍa avve ma:ti* or *sikka avve ma:ti* depending on the relative seniority of the MZ; *ayya* is any male of the second or third generation ascending, but a FFeB is called *doḍḍa ayya* while FFyB is *kunna ayya*.

Agnates of generations senior to Ego are addressed by him using a kin term. Those who are of generations equal or junior to Ego's are addressed by name, even when the individuals are older than Ego is. A woman, on the other hand, should never utter her husband's name, whether or not he is present. If asked for it, she may describe another person altogether, and then

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

that originally this milking of the buffaloes must have been the main vocation of the Badaga. The boy then takes the vessel thus filled with milk into his house and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken upon himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk on the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly and bless him, each in his or her turn, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this the boy enters the milk-house—the *Hâgôtu*—and places milk in his *Hoge* there. From this moment and all through his life he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony.

The next important rite among the Lingâyat sect of the Badagas is the wearing of the *Linga*, or the initiation of the boy into his religion, which takes place about the thirteenth birthday of the boy. The priest conducts this ceremony and the elder relations of the family have only to arrange for the performance of it. The priests belong to the Udaya sect of the Badagas. They live in their own villages, and are specially sent for and come up to the boy's village for the occasion. The ceremony is done generally to several Badaga boys of almost the same age on the same day. On the day appointed all the people in the Badaga village where this ceremony is to take place observe a strict fast. The cows and buffaloes are all milked very early in the morning and not a drop of the milk thus collected is given out or taken by even the tenderest children of the village who may require it very badly. The Udaya priest who has been invited arrives near the village between 10 and 12 A.M. on the day appointed. He never goes into the village, but stops near some rivulet adjacent to it. The relations of the boy or boys approach him with a new basket containing five measures of uncooked rice and pulse, ghee, &c., and a quarter of a rupee,—one fanam, as it is generally designated. The priest sits near the water-course and lights up a fire on the bank. Perfumes are thrown profusely into it and this is almost the only ceremony before the fire. The boys whose turn it is to receive the *Linga* that day are all directed to bathe in the river. A plantain leaf cut into one foot square is placed in front of the fire towards the east of it. The *Lingas*, kept in readiness by the parents of the boys, are now received by the priest and placed on the leaves. The boys are asked to wash them—each one the *Linga* meant for his wearing—in water and milk. Then comes the time for the expenditure of all the collected milk of

If more than one have to receive the *Linga* on the same day each of them has to undergo this ceremony. After the ceremony is over the priest returns to his village with the rice, &c., and fees. Every house in which a boy has received the *Linga* has to give a grand feast that day. Even the poorest Badaga must feed five other Badagas at least.

Thus closes the Linga-wearing ceremony of the Badaga boy, after which he passes through no additional ceremony. He spends his time now in milking the buffaloes, now in the fields, and is thus always preparing himself to become in the future the responsible head of a Badaga family.

Before we speak of the ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage of a Badaga youth and of those which are due to him at the time of and after his death, which we shall dwell upon at their proper place, we shall turn our attention to a Badaga female-child and trace her from her birth to her marriage. As soon as a female-child is born, some of her relations who are in a position to contract a marriage relationship bespeak the baby, and arrange for her to be married at the proper age to such and such a boy. In consideration of this they give Rs. 10 as a fee. This is everything to the girl and her price cannot afterwards be enhanced even though when she grows up she may be worth more—even as much as Rs. 200 which is the highest rate prevailing among them. Even when a girl is thus bespoken, all the forms connected with the courtship and marriage which I am about to describe are observed except the one of handing over the price of the girl, which in such a case has already been paid. This custom of contracting relationship is rare but it does occur in ten out of a hundred cases. Violations of this kind of marriage are considered very ungentlemanly but they are not infrequent. The fine for such violations is after all very light, being merely the return of the Rs. 10 formerly paid for the girl when the infant was bespoken.

Let us now go back to the baby and suppose her not to be thus bespoken. She has no rites or any observances to undergo till she becomes of a marriageable age. She then leaves her parents' house and goes to a building called the *Hola-Gudi*. This *Hola-Gudi* is a public place reserved exclusively for women and grown up girls, and is a building that every Badaga village contains. She is presented with a new cloth by her parents and remains in the *Hola-Gudi* till the next full-moon day. All the families in the village bring to her one measure of wheat or *Koraji* flour from each